

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

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INFO AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

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TAGS: PINT, GW

SUBJECT: YOUNG SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION: HEIDI
AND THE "REFORMISTS" PREVAIL--BUT JUST BARELY

REF: (A) BONN 1579 OF JANUARY 29, 1974, (B) BONN 17917
OF NOVEMBER 15, 1974

SUMMARY: CHAIRMAN HEIDI WIECZOREK-ZEUL AND HER R-
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FORMIST" GROUP PREVAILED BY A NARROW MAJORITY OVER

COMMUNIST-ORIENTED "STAMOKAPS" AND TROTSKYIST "ANTI-REVISIONISTS" AT THE YOUNG SOCIALIST (JUSO) CONVENTION IN WIESBADEN FEBRUARY 28-MARCH 2. ALTHOUGH THE DELEGATES SHIED AWAY FROM DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH THE REST OF THE PARTY, THE SPECTACLE OF DEEP INTERNAL JUSO DISSENSION PROVIDES ADDITIONAL AMMUNITION FOR THE SPD'S OPPONENTS. HOWEVER, IT HAS ALSO BEEN MADE CLEAR THAT THE JUSO LEADERSHIP IS RELATIVELY MODERATE AND INTERESTED IN COOPERATION WITH THE MOTHER PARTY--ALTHOUGH ITS ABILITY TO FIND SUPPORT FROM ITS OWN RANKS IS AN OPEN QUESTION. END SUMMARY.

1. THE JUSO CONVENTION, WHICH WAS SUPPOSED TO BE DEVOTED LARGELY TO WORKING GROUP DISCUSSIONS OF SUBSTANTIVE POLICY ISSUES AND TO FEATURE PARTICIPATION OF OLDER SPD MEMBERS IN THE DIALOGUE, INSTEAD TURNED INTO A HARD-FOUGHT FACTIONAL STRUGGLE. FACED WITH THE PRACTICAL NECESSITY FOR ACCOMMODATION WITH THE REST OF THE PARTY AND INTERNAL DISAGREEMENT WITHIN ITS OWN RANKS ON SUBSTANCE AND TACTICS, THE SELF-STYLED "REFORMISTS" BASED IN SOUTH HESSE AND GROUPED AROUND HEIDI AND THE EXECUTIVE BOARD DECIDED TO DRAW THE LINE AND TO BROOK NO COMPROMISE ON PERSONNEL OR POLICY DECISIONS. THE RESULT WAS A NARROW--BUT FOR THE TIME BEING SUFFICIENT--VICTORY FOR THE REFORMISTS. HOWEVER, IT WAS A VICTORY WON IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF CONFUSION AND A TONE OF BITTERNESS WHICH HAVE NOT ONLY HURT THE SPD IMAGE BUT ALSO CREATED SOME DOUBTS ABOUT THE JUSOS' ABILITY TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY IN THE YEAR AHEAD.

2. THE CONVENTION OPENED IN THE SUBDUED ATMOSPHERE CREATED BY THE KIDNAPPING OF PETER LORENZ THE PREVIOUS DAY, AN ACT WHICH THE JUSOS UNANIMOUSLY CONDEMNED. FOLLOWING GREETINGS FROM ANGOLAN MPLA AND PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH SOCIALIST REPRESENTATIVES, HEIDI LAUNCHED INTO AN OPENING ADDRESS WHICH ATTACKED THE CDU/CSU, ADMONISHED THE SCHMIDT GOVERNMENT, AND WARNED OF THE DANGERS OF FACTIONALISM WITHIN THE JUSO RANKS.

3. HEIDI RESERVED HER SHARPEST VOCABULARY FOR BIG LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BUSINESS AND THE CDU/CSU, ACCUSING THEM OF HOLDING BACK ON INVESTMENTS AND BLOCKING REFORMS. SHE STEERED CLEAR OF ANY DIRECT CRITICISM OF SCHMIDT, AND HER CRITICISM OF THE SPD WAS EVEN Milder THAN WOLFGANG ROTH'S RELATIVELY MODERATE SPEECH LAST YEAR IN MUNICH. SHE REPEATED HER WELL KNOWN POSITION CALLING FOR "SOCIALIZATION" OF KEY INDUSTRIES AND BANKING, DIRECT AS WELL AS INDIRECT INVESTMENT GUIDANCE AND MORE MITBESTIMMUNG.

HEIDI'S MAJOR POINT OF DIFFERENCE WITH THE MOTHER PARTY WAS THE CONTROL WHICH THE PARTY HAS ASSUMED OVER JUSO PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES. SHE DECLARED THAT THE JUSOS NOT ONLY OPPOSE THE SCHIEDSKOMMISSION DECISION (REF B) BUT ALSO THE SOMEWHAT MORE LIBERAL GUIDELINES ESTABLISHED RECENTLY BY THE SPD EXECUTIVE BOARD WHICH GIVE THE PARTY A VETO OVER STATEMENTS OF THE JUSO EXECUTIVE BOARD BUT NOT OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS.

4. SPD CHAIRMAN WILLY BRANDT PICKED UP THIS THEME IN A KEYNOTE SPEECH DEVOTED TO DEFINING THE LIMITS OF THE

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JUSOS' FREEDOM OF ACTION. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE JUSOS ARE A SUBORDINATE GROUP WITHIN THE SPD AND MUST OPERATE UNDER RULES ESTABLISHED BY THE PARTY. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE BASIC REASON FOR THE JUSOS' EXISTENCE IS TO BRING THE SPD TO WEST GERMAN YOUTH, NOT TO CRITICIZE THE SPD. ANY THOUGHTS WHICH THE JUSOS MIGHT WISH TO BRING TO THE PARTY SULD BE IN THE FORM OF CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS, AND IN ANY CASE COULD ONLY BE CONSIDERED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AS PRELIMINARY IDEAS.

5. ANY HOPES THAT THE DELEGATES MIGHT AGREE ON SOME SUBSTANTIVE IDEAS TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE PARTY'S OR-85 DISCUSSION ON ECONOMIC POLICY WERE QUICKLY DASHED THE FIRST EVENING, HOWEVER, WHEN THE INTERNAL DIFFERENCES BURST WIDE OPEN IN A THEORETICAL DISCUSSION OF "REFORM AND STATE." CONFRONTED BY A NEGATIVE COALITION OF STAMOKAPS AND ANTI-REVISIONISTS AND UNABLE TO FIND A MAJORITY FOR THEIR OWN POSITION, HEIDI AND HER COLLEAGUES ON THE EXECUTIVE BOARD DECLARED THAT THEY WOULD NOT STAND FOR REELECTION UNLESS THEIR VIEWS OBTAINED MAJORITY SUPPORT. TWENTY-FOUR HOURS LATER, AFTER HEATED DEBATE AND BEHIND THE SCENES NEGOTIATIONS, THE REFORMISTS GOT THEIR MAJORITY, BUT FOR A VERY GENERAL POSITION PAPER WHICH WAS APPROVED BY ONLY 174 OUT OF THE 300 DELEGATES.

6. THE PAPER BEARS A REFORMIST STAMP WITH LITTLE TRACE OF STAMOKAP ("THE STATE IS THE INSTRUMENT OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM") OR ANTI-REVISIONIST ("MOBILIZATION OF THE MASSES") VOCABULARY. IT CALLS FOR SOCIALIZATION OF KEY INDUSTRIES, GENERAL ECONOMIC PLANNING IN THE FRAMEWORK OF A MARKET ECONOMY, MITBESTIMMUNG, REFORM OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM, STRENGTHENING OF CIVIL LIBERTIES, AND SUPPORT FOR THE SPD AND THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM.

7. WITH THE NUMERICAL RELATIONSHIPS OUT IN THE OPEN, STAMOKAP LEADER DETLEV ALBERS AND THE STAMOKAP INCUMBENT ON THE EXECUTIVE BOARD KLAUS UWE BENNETER WITHDREW THEIR CANDIDACIES. HEIDI, RUNNING UNOPPOSED, WAS REELECTED BY 168 OUT OF 300 VOTES, 29 VOTES LESS THAN LAST YEAR. THE REST OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, ALSO UNOPPOSED, WAS REELECTED BY NARROW MAJORITIES.

ELECTED FOR THE FIRST TIME WERE HERMANN SCHEER, OTTMAR SCHREINER, AND DIETMAR THIESER REPLACING STRASSER AND MERNIZKA, WHO HAVE REACHED THE JUSO AGE LIMIT OF 35, AND BENNETER.

8. COMMENT: THE RELATIVE STRENGTHS OF STAMOKAPS, ANTI-REVISIONISTS AND REFORMISTS IN WIESBADEN WAS ABOUT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE SAME AS AT THE 1974 MUNICH CONVENTION. IF ANYTHING, THE STAMOKAPS AND ANTI-REVISIONISTS WERE SOMEWHAT STRONGER THIS YEAR. THE DIFFERENCE IS THAT LAST YEAR, THE REFORMISTS ENTERED INTO WHAT MANY CONSIDERED "ROTTEN COMPROMISES" WITH THEIR OPPONENTS ON BOTH POLICY AND PERSONNEL QUESTIONS. THIS YEAR THEY DID NOT, ON WHAT WE UNDERSTAND WAS THE RECOMMENDATION OF THEIR FRIENDS IN THE OLDER SPD LEFT, SOME OF WHOM SUCH AS NORBERT GANSEL AND WOLFGANG ROTH SPOKE ON THE FLOOR IN SUPPORT OF HEIDI. THE VARIOUS LAND ELECTIONS AND THE BUDGETARY AND OTHER "BUREAUCRATIC RESTRICTIONS" WHICH THE SPD HAS EXERCISED OVER THE JUSOS THIS YEAR HAVE ALSO MADE HEIDI AND HER COLLEAGUES AWARE THAT THEY HAVE LITTLE CHOICE EXCEPT TO ACCOMMODATE THEMSELVES MORE TO THE PARTY.

9. SPD SECRETARY GENERAL BOERNER WELCOMED THE RESULTS FROM OF THE CONVENTION WHICH, HE SAID, "PULL THE RUG OUT-UNDER" THOSE WHO BRAND ALL JUSOS AS STAMOKAPS. OTHER SPD SOURCES EXPRESS THEMSELVES AS "SATISFIED." THEY ARE RELIEVED THAT THE REFORMISTS "FINALLY DREW THE LINE," SHOWED THAT "THE STAMOKAPS CANNOT ORGANIZE THEMSELVES POLITICALLY" AND KEPT THE STAMOKAPS OUT OF THE JUSO LEADERSHIP. ON THE OTHER HAND, THESE SOURCES ARE ALSO AWARE THAT A RELATIVELY TAME JUSO LEADERSHIP WILL NOT BE WORTH TOO MUCH TO THE PARTY IF IT IS UNDERCUT AT THE LOCAL LEVELS BY THE MORE RADICAL JUSOS, WHO ARE ESPECIALLY STRONG IN BERLIN, HAMBURG, HANNOVER, AND WESTERN WESTPHALIA. IN THE MEANTIME, THE CDU/CSU IS POINTING TO THE CLEAR DISPLAY OF JUSO FRACTIONALIZATION AS ANOTHER NEGATIVE POINT AGAINST THE SPD.
HILLENBRAND

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